2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyirrit* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Heasty for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and be eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Heasty could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *puro* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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Plate IX

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Dove-kind ceremony, sacrificial bull at shrine of Nyakang

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Panikang, shrine to Dang

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

with rather long legs, a slender body, and large horns. The horns, while young, are dressed into most manifold strange forms, this being the business of a particular craftsman, the "dresser of horns". Sometimes in a large herd one sees hardly any cattle with the horns in their natural shape. An illustration of how cattle are cherished and almost regarded as personal beings is the fact that they have about 40 different names for cattle, according to their colour, the configuration or size of the horns, etc. Vide page 227. — Domestic animals are not butchered, except when sick or exceedingly old. Oxen and goats are killed on festal occasions, such as funeral or marriage meals, or as sacrifices to Dyikang and Jwok. Neither do they sell cattle; for a stranger it is practically impossible to purchase a cow or an ox. The price of a cow is about £ 5; an ox is half the value of a cow which has calved; a young heifer has double the value of a cow. — Slaying a cow is done by stabbing it with a spear in the nape, so that the aorta is pierced. The blood is collected and cooked as food.

The cows are milked morning and evening, usually by boys, sometimes also by old men, but not by women, the latter having nothing to do with cattle. The quantity of milk obtained is but poor. A gourd is the usual milk vessel. These are washed with cow-urine, which gives the milk an unpleasant flavour. They also wash their hands in cow-urine; but they do not mix the milk with it, as is the custom with Dinkas and Nuers.

Each village possesses a common cow-shed, but into it the herd is put at night during the rainy season only, when the mosquitoes are very bad. The rest of the year they are kraaled in the open yard, where they are tied with ropes to short pegs driven into the ground. This cattle-court is a semi-circular enclosure; at the entrance to it there is a small circular place built of cow-stalks and covered with ashes, in which the young men who watch the herd sleep. A fire of dried cow-dung is kept smouldering all night in this place. Sick cattle are nursed in the cow-shed during the daytime, to keep them out of the sun and away from food, but not in the night, unless it is the season when all the cattle are housed. Many cattle die every year, from intestinal worms and other diseases. A considerable number of cows are barren.

The cattle are herded by young men and boys. As soon as the dew has dried off the grass, the herd is driven into the pasture. During the dry season, when grass is getting rare, the herds migrate into the lower and swampy parts of the country, where the grass is still flourishing; the Shilluks along the White Nile cross over to the east bank; likewise the cattle of the Sobat Shilluks descend to the lagoons south of the Sobat. So in both cases they have to cross the rivers, which is, on account of the many crocodiles living in them, not undangerous, and is therefore done with much care and accompanied by

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F323 Shiluh F323

331 shaped iron instrument. The hole is made by holding the sharpened point of the iron on the piece of shell and rapidly revolving it between the palms of the hand. The pierced pieces are then rounded by rubbing the edges against a stone with a cow's hand.

281 Skins for wearing apparel, such as the hides of calves, goats, gazelles and other small animals are usually prepared by drying them first and dressing, then curing in ashes. After this they are stretched tight on poles stuck in the ground, and grease or oil is rubbed on them; then they are rubbed and worked for several hours, till they are soft, and the oil well worked into them. The hair is left on; a skin with a large amount of the hair gone would be considered very poor. The skin is worn with the hair on the outside.

293 Ropes are made from plant fibres, grass, and the leaves of the dum palm.

WEAVING 501 Cloths are hollowed out of trees; this is, considering the poor tools they have, a very dreamer work, but the boats they make are fairly well, they are propelled by means of long sticks. A peculiar kind of boat or raft is made of the sesbania tree; it is composed of a thick bundle of that pith-like, light wood tied together, turned up at the bows, and propelled by a paddle. These boats are so light that they are easily carried by one man.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS 534 281 322 Their musical instruments are small and large drums, a stringed instrument called gow and a wind instrument resembling in a cow's or antelope's horn; this is used in wars and in war-dances. The drums are logs of wood hollowed out and bound with skin; they are beaten either with the flat hand or with a stick. The gow is made by splitting in the middle a small section of a log and hollowing out the flat side a little. A piece of cow cow hide is stretched over this, and the flat side becomes the face of the instrument. A round stick some 18 inches long is fastened at each end. The ends of these two upright pieces pass through a cross-stick, which is large enough in diameter to allow them to pass this and still be quite strong. The holes are made in it by burning. The strings are made of sinews of animals or of the root bark of a certain plant. These are attached to the head, drawn across the face over a small wooden bridge, and wound about the cross-stick. They are then tightened, and the instrument is tuned by loosening these strings and tightening or loosening them about the crosspiece. They are tied to this stick, and by winding over themselves, keep from slipping.

POTTERY 323 [863] [845] [876] [537] Pottery is the handicraft of women. They make pots of different kind and size, for carrying water, cooking, brewing beer; they also make pitchers, cups for drinking beer, heads for smoking pipes, etc. Gourds and calabashes are also much used household tools. The pipe-heads are made of clay; they are large and rather clumsy, and are generally ornamented with some simple designs,

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928)1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the depredations of hyenas, and the boys of from ten to fifteen years to clear up the standings of the cattle, collect the head ropes, and clean out the *luaks*.

By the time the boys have finished their duties the cattle are brought back to the village for milking, and the small boys leave with their herds of sheep and goats for pasture and are not seen again until nearly sunset.

Milking is accompanied by much grooming and cleaning of the cattle, and is one of the proudest hours of the Shilluk's life when he handles his beasts in view of the world.

At about 10.30 a.m. the cattle are driven to their damp pasture accompanied by an escort of fighting youths who are responsible for protection against wild beasts, reptiles and predatory human beings.

Cattle and sheep herding by day is the work of youths and boys, and is full-time employment from dawn to dusk—varied by a certain amount of fish-spearing as a recreation—so we will leave them to their duties and turn to the elder men to see to what extent the stigma of laziness applies to them.

At the time of writing the first rains have fallen, so every able-bodied man who is not engaged in cattle herding leaves for his cultivation area—which is generally at least three miles inland from the village—before dawn: this early start becomes of vital importance when the *dura* is first sown, as the guinea-fowl descend from the trees at dawn to consume the seed sown on the previous day, and the cultivator is thus unable to leave his plot until after dusk, when these fowl have gone to roost.

Women bring food and water to the cultivator twice a day besides carrying out their ordinary household duties which we will now survey.

Shilluk villages for freedom from mosquitoes and other reasons are usually situated from one to three miles away from the Nile, and before dawn one or two women or girls from each house have to go to the river to fill all their available earthen pots and gourds with water for the use of the house before the men go away to work; the ordinary earthen vessel or *pak* when full weighs between thirty and forty pounds, and two or even three trips have to be made to the river daily to supply the needs of the home, so water carrying can only be done by the stronger women and girls.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1944) 1946
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535 643 778 of reik Fafiti's houses, searching for him in the way the dancers had done at the funeral dance. They stopped before each house while the dancers danced up to them. They spent rather longer in front of the tomb of Fafiti, and then suddenly moved off on their way with all their following.

643 778 They passed the village of the new reik, paying no attention to it, and went direct to the village of the chief of Golbainy (and all Gol Dhiang). Some 150 yards north of the village the images stopped, [533] [535] and the company prayed to them and sang. They approached the village from the side away from the road, but, instead of dancing straight in, they stopped on the threshold, and the people of the village, led by the chief, danced up to them as if to ward them off, and then quickly retired. The chief was called up, and then went off to his [415] 295 house. He brought a small grass mat (one foot square used for covering pots as a protection from flies), a small piece of rope,[14] and put them on the ground. Dak and Nyikang stepped over the mat and rope and entered the village. A short dance round the village followed of the usual pattern, with Nyikang and Dak taking part. After a little Nyikang and Dak took up a position before the house which had been prepared for them in case they should wish to spend the night. The congregation sat down before them and sang songs. The women sat with heads averted from Nyikang. The refrain of the most popular [533] 539 song was :—

"Let the Dervish wreak his will,
Nyikang's land will prosper still."

643 The chief was called once more and had a secret talk with Dak. It is the tradition that Nyikang presents the chief of Golbainy on every installation with a spear, because originally Nyikang invested his [755] forebear with a spear of office. The alleged original spear is still used to cure disease. A piece of goat's ear is cut off with the spear and tied on the patient's ankle. The chief first provided a cattle

14. This may have been a pledge for the gift of sheep or a bull, or instead of a sheep for Nyikang to step over on entering the village.

19: Howell & Thomson E, G-5 (1943-1964) 1946
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Personal Equipment.

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The equipment carried by the Kwa Nyikwom for Nyikang and Dak consisted of the following.

[534] 1. *Drums.* There were two pairs of kettledrums; one was embellished with black ostrich feathers and rings around the edges, the other pair was made of plain wood. They were basin-shaped, and beaten with a distinctive rhythm as Nyikang proceeded. The original pair "Obuny" and "Cal" are said to have been captured, the former from the Arabs and the latter from the "Funy."

[411] 2. *Spears.* A collection of spears, sometimes three, and sometimes more, was carried. None of the spears carried was wrapped in cloth, as is usual with sacred spears.

[45] 3. *Cooking Pots and Baskets.* The pots were of the normal Shilluk types, and the baskets basin-shaped and covered with reed mats. There was generally a pair of each. These contained Nyikang's food for the journey.

4. *Nyikang's Bed.* A forked pole about 8 feet long with a circular leather flap hanging from the joint of the fork.

5. *Nyikang's Shield.* This was only produced from Aturwic wrapped in cloth. It did not come from Akurwa. It was apparently similar in shape to a normal Shilluk shield, but very much smaller.

6. *Ropes and Grass.* These were not strictly part of Nyikang's equipment, but were carried by the Kwa Nyikwom. The ropes were said to be made at the installation of *reth* Fafiti in 1917, and the grass and fibre which had been brought by Dak from Fanyikang were for the Kwa Nyikwom to make into new ropes for the new installation. These ropes, like the whips carried by the Kwa Nyikwom, were used for warding off the inquisitive.

22: Howell E-5 (1951) 1952 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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PLATE 16. The *kwa* Nyikir entered the village of Kujo, after stepping over a sheep held to the ground.

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PLATE 17. They entered the village, singing and dancing, with the spear of Nyikang wrapped in white cloth, and the basket containing sacred relics.

[P. 164 (A)]

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

more practical purpose of tethering the cattle as towards sunset they come winding back from the pasture. In the hot months, if there is no danger from lions, they are left all night in the open and the byre is used as a dormitory by the boys and unmarried men of the village. It is the custom, too, for the unmarried girls to sleep together in vacant huts in the village, for the sleeping hut of a household is reserved for the householder and his wife and small children.

The rear part of the store hut is taken up by an enormous circular grain basket, four feet high and the same in diameter, standing clear of the floor on a wooden, three-legged stand and safe from the depredations of white ants. Whenever possible, cooking is done outside, but during the rains it is done over a fire of sticks or millet stalks burning in a hollow scooped out in the floor near the wall. A variety of pots clutters the floor space: the large earthenware water pot, an earthenware pot and a shallow iron dish for cooking, small beer pots, a number of drinking bowls made from the tough rinds of gourds neatly halved and dried in the sun. The roofing poles, resting on the mud walls and rising to an apex, form convenient places for tucking away household goods and personal treasures. Such an item one cannot fail to notice is that of several large heads of grain; these are stored for the next season's planting, and no matter how desperate the food situation may become, they will remain untouched, for the next year's supply of food depends on this stock of seed. Behind the poles also may be found a fragment of a mirror, a couple of cigarette tins holding a little oil or a handful of beads, a girl's blue dancing cloth or even the good wife's best Sunday frock, run up for her by the Sisters from some material brought from Kodok, probably some dreadful riot of green and red and yellow, hideous indeed to Western eyes, but to the proud owner more delightful than any Paris creation. Sometimes, to a visitor's distress, a line is slung across the hut on which hang dried fish or strips of meat. The high tone of these delicacies, the myriads of flies they attract and the thick, black smoke of the fire which, having no means of getting away, fills the hut, do not make

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

574 [276] like bellows, and then passes it on. Pipe and beer circulate freely, and under the mellowing influence of both, tongues are quickly loosened and conversation turns to the perennial [521] topic of cattle. After a while, your cigarette finished, you will excuse yourself to your host and, rising from your cramped position, greet everyone present in turn and make your escape into the open air.

512 The Shilluk, sensible man, starts his day with the sun. He emerges from his hut, however, with heavy head and blood- [513] shot eyes, since he has been sleeping for seven or eight hours in a small windowless hut with the doorway blocked with a [372] heavy grass mat and perhaps a smoky fire burning as a 825 protection against mosquitoes. As a further defence against [751] these pests he covers himself from head to foot with the red ashes from the cow-dung fire, but this does not worry him; [515] if there is water handy he may rinse his hands and face, if not, he will remain as he is until his next visit to the river —perhaps today, perhaps tomorrow or the next day—gives him the chance of taking a bath.

Gradually the village comes to life: the women appear, winding their drab-looking cloths round them, and set off [484] on their daily pilgrimage to the river with the heavy water pots balanced on their heads. The little group breaks up and the women fall into line, one behind the other, as they reach the narrow track leading out of the village, chattering like starlings as they swing along. The boys come out of the 512 byre smothered like their elders in the red ashes in which 857 they have been lying all night, looking like imps from the [233] lower regions. They begin to clean up round the tethered 372 cattle, collecting the cow dung and spreading it out to 234 dry in the sun for fuel. When this is done they milk the [252] cows and goats. From one compound comes the sound of dull thumping as some girl pounds the millet grain into coarse flour. The grain is small and hard, red or white in colour. It is first winnowed by being poured at shoulder height from a basket and then sieved in a boat- [415] shaped scoop of plaited fibre. The grain is then put into a

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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463 824 [283] stalks of millet, binding them together with ropes which he makes of grass. The same grass provides him with the thatch for the roof, mats for his door, ropes of varying strength to tether his goats and cattle, and a rope of great thickness and strength to assist him in the dangerous sport of hunting the hippopotamus. From reeds gathered by the riverside he weaves grain baskets and fish traps. If a cow of 463 his falls sick he can act as a veterinary doctor, and if he fails [232] to effect a cure for the animal, he is quite competent at least to cure its hide! He makes his own pottery, beautifully [323] symmetrical and balanced, without the aid of a wheel, and fires it in an earth oven, and grows the calabashes which [415] provide him with drinking bowls. He can turn his hand to [294] shoemaking, fashioning a clumsy but serviceable sandal from [237] hippopotamus hide and cow skin by using his spear blade very cleverly as both knife and awl. When his work is done he will fill his home-made pipe with tobacco he has grown and cured himself and gratefully drink the beer that his able wife has brewed for him. There are, naturally, some among them who are more gifted than others, or who show a special aptitude in some particular craft and therefore specialize in it. Thus, a Shilluk householder who wishes to have a superior type of thatching on his house will call in an expert to do it; yet such experts are comparatively few, because they are unnecessary in a community where each one is brought up to do everything for himself, and has no other work to prevent him from living a communal tribal life in full. The one craft that is completely exercised by a special few is that [326] of the blacksmith, and this because ironwork is so small a need in the life of the Shilluk. It is true that his two spears [411] and the small hoe he uses for cultivation are indispensable [412] to him, but once he acquires them they last a lifetime, and it would be a waste for him to collect the—to him—elaborate and expensive tools of the blacksmith's trade for which he would seldom, or never, have use. If ever he [437] needs a new spear or hoe he will, by buying or bartering, [439] obtain it from the local smith, or—as is more likely in these modern days—make his way to the nearest Arab

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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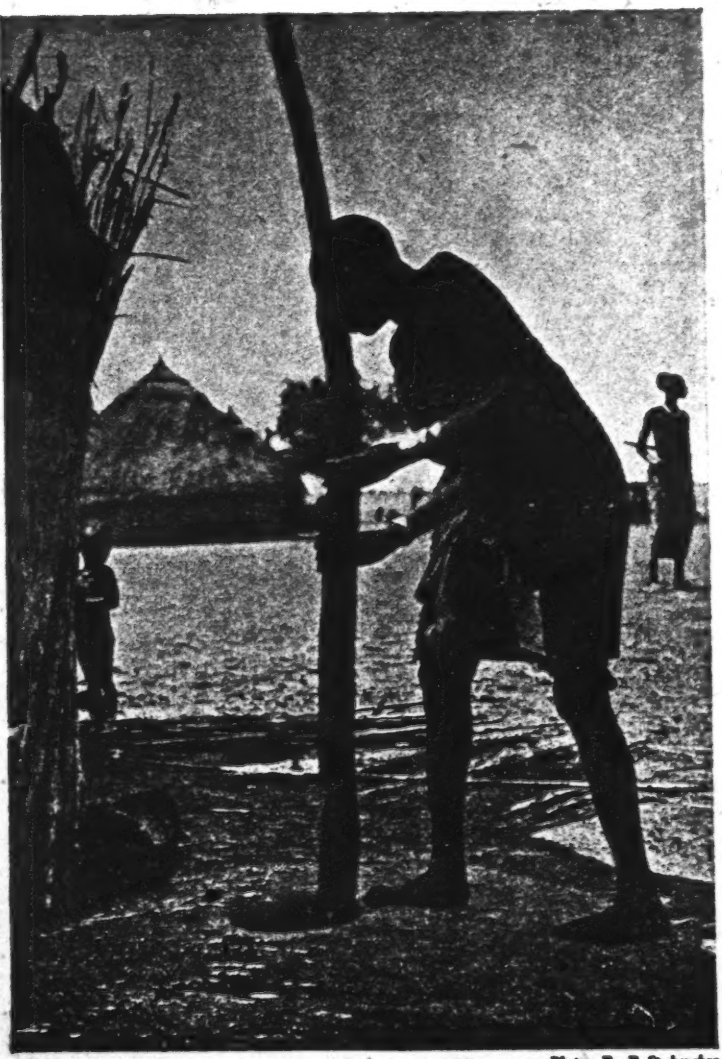

Photo: Fr. F. Spelmeier

Girl pounding grain as a preliminary to grinding

[facing p. 84]